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The Lancashire Dialect Society

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EDITORIAL

Two articles in this issue of the Journal continue the discussion of themes raised in previous issues. Geoffrey Cubbin's discussion of the early records of place-names, and their potential value for the scholar in enabling him to fix dialect boundaries with unexpected precision, follows the introductory survey of Lancashire place-names which had been written by the late Dr. Stella Brook and which we published last year. Dr Cubbin ends his paper with a request for anyone who feels capable of helping him with the fine detail of his work to get in touch with him; this is one of two requests in the present issue which we hope readers may respond to.

The other sequel follows the two-part study of the life and work of Edwin Waugh which Martha Vicinus wrote and which we completed last year. Brian Hollingworth has made it possible for us to print for the first time two hitherto unpublished poems by the poet; unpublished, and unknown therefore to anyone except the very few people who may have been able to read Waugh's diaries in the Manchester City Library. It gives us a scoop, which is an achievement of sorts for a journal which appears only annually, even though the poems themselves have waited one hundred and thirty years to see the light of day!

We welcome Brian Hollingworth to our pages with this article. He will be well-known to students of Lancashire Dialect Literature for his edition of Songs of the People, a collection of Lancashire dialect poetry of the industrial revolution, which Manchester University Press published in 1977.

Dave Dutton's moving poem 'Seawnd O'T Sea' continues the sequence of prize-winning poems from the annual Fylde Folk Festival which was represented last year by Fred Palmer's 1981 prize poem. The Festival, with which the Lancashire Dialect Society is associated, does important work in encouraging the use of the dialect for poetry. We hope that by giving these poems and others the permanence of our pages, the Journal itself is helping the same cause along. But potential contributors ought to be assured that we do not limit our poetry pages to prize-winners only. We are glad to receive any dialect writing of quality.

The other request for help, mentioned in the first paragraph above, concerns the survey of living Lancashire speech being carried out by the North Western Sound Archive. The details of this are given later in this issue.

OBITUARY

Professor J.H. Baxendale

The Lancashire Dialect Society has suffered a heavy blow by the death of J.H. Baxendale D.Sc., who had been Professor of Physical Chemistry in the University of Manchester since 1977. Professor Baxendale had not been a member of the Society for long, but he was soon elected a member of the Executive Committee and shortly afterwards became its Chairman. He was friendly and approachable and he made a very useful contribution to the work of the Society by preserving the link with the University of Manchester which has existed ever since its formation. Our deepest sympathy goes out to his relatives and friends.

G.L.B.

NEWS OF MEMBERS

The Editor, John Levitt, and Dr. Graham Shorrocks, a frequent contributor to the Journal, are collaborating in running a summer school at the University of Keele this summer, for the university's Adult Education Department, on Dialect Studies Today. This will comprise a review of the state of the subject; a historical background; a detailed account of the methods of dialect research, and some opportunities for practical work. The dates will be August 20th to the 27th. Fuller details from the editor.

To give an individual welcome to each new member of the Society is obviously impossible, but occasionally it seems important to single a newcomer out - if only to let the other members share the interest of the news. Robert Easton, who has just joined us, has been described as the Henry Higgins of Hollywood, and a dialect doctor to the acting profession: which includes Lord Olivier, Gregory Peck, Lee Remick, and many others, all of whom have been coached by him at various times in various accents. A considerable scholar of dialect, he clearly makes a fascinating profession from it.

TWO EARLY POEMS BY EDWIN WAUGH

Readers of this journal, who are no doubt familiar with the dialect writing of Edwin Waugh, and have recently had the opportunity to read the fascinating two part article by Martha Vicinus about his life and times, may be interested to read two early unpublished poems which appear in his diary.

This diary, housed in the Manchester Central Library, was written between 1847 and 1851 when Waugh was employed as Assistant Secretary to the Lancashire Public Schools Association and living in Manchester. It records events, therefore, which happened some five to eight years before Waugh gained public recognition as a dialect poet through the publication of his famous poem 'Come Whoam to thi Childer an' Me' in 1856.

Altogether it is an interesting document since it vividly describes the trials and tribulations of a self-made would-be writer in mid-century Manchester, and affectingly tells of the break-up of his marriage. But it gains an added interest since Waugh is also plainly using the diary to experiment with writing - his descriptions are often set-piece essays, and his style, even his handwriting, varies enormously from section to section. Within this experimentation from time to time are experiments in writing dialect verse. Some of these experiments are not more than a line or two, heavily corrected and unfinished, but at least two seem relatively complete and would bear publication.

The first appears on Page 272 of the diary, and, as it is recorded, invites several comments. First of all it is in a rather strange metre with two lines with two strong beats, and a third line of three strong beats. This is very unusual in dialect verse, and as far as I know, not repeated in any of his published poetry. Secondly its subject matter is rather more pointed in terms of social criticism, than we might expect from Waugh's published work. From his later writing Waugh has something of a reputation for being an establishment liberal - an encourager of thrift and cleanliness and good habits who is hardly a trenchant social critic. In this early poem, however, and in the diary overall, he appears in a somewhat more critical attitude - particularly censorious of the hypocrisy of a Victorian Christianity. Thirdly, one notices in this poem, and the other poem presented here, a nice problem which has always faced dialect writers. Since there is no standard form for conveying

phonetically to writing the sounds of dialect speech every writer must fetch for themselves in trying to create authentic word forms. Gradually as time goes on writers like Waugh evolve a 'standard' dialect form which their readers recognise (though as it becomes standard it may become less accurate), and indeed over the past hundred years largely through the immense influence of Waugh's writing - a 'standard' widely accepted dialect transliteration has grown up. But in the early days (as a glance at the early broadsheet versions of dialect poetry will show) there is no consistency in this at all - and consequently the verse meaning is often difficult to decipher even when the words in themselves are not difficult to understand.

Poem I

Noo aw gu up un deawn
 This soot ozl't teawn,¹
 Aw see it's weel stock't wi' preychin' plazes;
 But six days i' th' week
 From morning to neet
 Thur moastly shut up i' foke's fazes.
 Nu aw say to mysel,
 Thur wickwi o' deol
 Nur thirn ut ale heases un th' cayrus.²

I' th' seven, one day
 Th' parsons ul pray,
 Un rant un roar obeawt salvation;
 But th' tother six
 Ur o' owd Nicks
 He may lap his tale reound th' congregation.
 Whol th' parson take
 His nattural snacks
 O', meyth, drink, sleep, un ray-cray-ashun,
 Hell have his heaven
 Six days i' th' seven;
 One's quite oneuch to feyght damnation.

Perhaps that poem is hardly better than doggerel, but the poem which appears on page 395 of the diary is worthy of more respect.

(1) bespattered town

(2) a deal more busy than they are at ale houses and the
 (?) workhouse

Poem 2

Last Setterdo neet, soon ur th'factory're O'er
Aw went whom, un wash't mo, un compd eawt my hure¹
Donn'd my hallady shoon, brust o'th'flur off my quot,²
An lapt up some moufin un cheese in a cleawt,³
 An aw sed to hir Mall,
 Neaw, then settle thysel,
For awm beawn't have a bit or a spree.

Fro week end to week end, fro mornin to neet,⁴
Aw bin rivin un tearin for clooas un wheyt,⁴
Fro th' factory to bed, un fro bed back to work,
My yed's gettin' addle't, my limbs are ur stark⁵
 Ur a poker; bi'th' mon,⁶
 Thea my shap ur to con,⁷
But aw mun have a bit or a spree

Aw ceaw'rt lung aneuf wi my theawrn i' my meawth,
Harrish't un parrish't i' th' days o' my yeath,⁸
For fustian un clogs, un a roof to my yed,
Waytur - porritch un traycle, un strae for a bed⁹
 Bwoth hard work un hunger
 Aul ston it no lunger,¹⁰
Aw mun have a bit or a spree

This poem is interesting in several ways. First of all it is so obviously - more obviously than anything that Waugh ever published - in the Jone o'Grinfilt tradition.¹¹

'I tarried six week an' thought every day wur t'last,
I tarried and shifted till now I'm quite fast;
I lived on nettles while nettles were good,
An' Waterloo porridge were best of my food;
I'm letting you true, I can find folks anew,
That are living no better than me'.¹²

reads verse 3 of 'th' Weyver' - and the echoes in Waugh's poem are clear enough.

1	hair	2	holiday shoes, flour (cotton dust), coat
3	cloth	4	working hard for clothes and food,
5	stiff,	6	by the man (Christ)
7	you may manage		
8	hungry and cold, youth,	9	straw,
10	stand		
11	A Lancashire dialect tradition	12	Songs of the

People p. 11.

On the other hand in its subject matter, the poem looks forward to a familiar theme of Waugh's published poetry which was less radical in its message the need for the working man to get away from drudgery and enjoy himself from time to time amid the monotony and worry of industrial living. So 'Come Whoam' - though it emphasises the man's return to 'the nest' rests on the excuse that he needs to get away sometimes.

'An can do wi' a crack o'er a glass;
Aw can do wi' a bit of a spree;
But aw've no gradely comfort, my lass, 1
Except wi' yon childer an' thee.

And one of Waugh's finest poems Tum Rindle is a prolonged celebration of the 'marlock' and 'spree'

'Tum Rindle lope fro' the chimbley nook,
As th'winter sun wer sinkin';
I'm tired o' keawrin' here i' th' smooke, 2
An' wastin time i' thinkin':
It frets my heart, an' racks my broo - 3
It sets my yed a-stewin':
A man that wouldn't dee a foo, 4
Mun up, an' start a-doin'! 5

Apprentice Waugh then, but already with signs for the future and already within the established traditions of dialect verse. Just a final thought. A more detailed study of the development of Waugh's verse might well be worth time and attention for the lover of dialect poetry. Waugh had obviously considered and absorbed many poetic styles and traditions by the time he made his tardy way into print, and his influence on dialect writing was so all-pervading that he established styles and traditions which are still unconsciously followed today.

Brian Hollingworth

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- 1 Songs of the People p.65
 - 2 cowering
 - 3 brow
 - 4 die a fool
 - 5 Songs of the People p.16

LANCASHIRE PLACE-NAMES

For those with a passing interest in languages or dialects, place-names can be a frustrating and disappointing object of study while the top several layers of the subject are being peeled off. In their modern, largely eroded forms, they seem incomprehensible (for instance Anglesark, Clitheroe, Brindle); only partly comprehensible (Liverpool, Salford, Westhoughton) or totally mundane (Hart Common, Daisy Hill, Blackpool) - however picturesque the idea of a deer appearing in modern Hart Common may be. To make things worse, when the perhaps intriguing, semi-comprehensible names are found in their less eroded forms in surviving medieval documents, one is often disappointed by the meaning. This is usually just as mundane as the more easily comprehensible modern forms - most frequently a description of the site or the owner's name. Preston becomes 'priests' farm', Bolton 'building farm', Scholes 'sheds' and Chorley 'peasant's field'. Yet once one has got past this initial stage, the study of place-names becomes an endlessly fascinating subject of study, and at the moment is indeed the most important area of research in the history of dialects. This is partly because it is an undeveloped subject, the enormous potential of which has only slowly been realised, whereas probably all the important discoveries have long since been wrung out of the important poems and prose pieces of earlier centuries.

The importance and fascination of place names lie not so much in their meanings as in the information they give us on linguistic habits and patterns at the time of their formation. It was discovered early this century that sounds in place names develop in the same way as sounds in all the other words in a dialect. It is clear from the words 'beseech', but 'seek', which are related to each other, but which probably come from different dialects, that in some parts of the country 'ch' was pronounced, where 'k' is used in the same words in other dialects. Place-names reflect this division of English. All the 'chester' names are in the South and West, and all the 'caster' names in the North and East. The line runs between Ribchester and Lancaster, over the Pennines (notice Cheadle with ch on one side, Tadcaster with k on the other), between Chesterfield and Doncaster, north of Peterborough (with a suburb called Chesterford), but south of Brancaster and Caister on the North Norfolk coast. Notice also that Keswick is in the

k area, and Chiswick, an identical formation meaning 'cheese-farm', is in London which is firmly in the ch area.

Place-names, however, can do more than differentiate between dialects of the same language. With their help it is possible to identify areas of completely different languages such as Celtic, Norse and Anglo-Saxon. South Lancashire is a good example of this. The best farming land above Chat Moss but below Rossendale has only Anglo-Saxon names such as Leigh, Hulton, Walkden, Farnworth, Bolton, Bury, Radcliffe, and Rochdale. The original Celtic inhabitants must have been driven out to the extremities of the area (for example, Alt and Werneth in Oldham) and to the thick forest of Makerfield, the first part of which is itself Celtic. Wigan (an owner's name - the name recurs on Anglesey), Ince (island), Penketh (Wood-end) Culcheth (back-wood) and Kenyon (unsure, but Celtic) and various others all occur in a group in this part. Eccles (church) and Worsley (a type of forest) occur at the edge of Chat Moss. Paradoxically, some really important places remain Celtic. Really important places have names which are strongly enough established to survive an invasion, as did some Red Indian names in the USA. Thus Manchester is Celtic in its first part. The rivers Croal, Thame, Hodder, Ribble and Darwen are Celtic. Pendle Hill began life as 'pen', meaning 'hill'. In medieval documents, it appears as the tautology 'Pen Hill'. When this is shortened to Pendle by normal erosion, a further 'hill' is added. Pendle Hill means 'hill, hill, hill'.

To return to South Lancashire, we also find names from a further wave of invaders after the Anglo-Saxons. We can assume that the Scandinavian settlement was fairly peaceful in Lancashire, because the names are in less desirable areas about which there may have been no fighting. In the marshes between the Irwell and the Mersey we find Flixton, Hulme and Urmston. On the high ground above Bolton we find Anglegarke and Turton. On the basis of these patterns we can assume that the Anglo-Saxons supplanted the Celts, but that the Scandinavians either made no attempt to supplant the Anglo-Saxons from the Bolton-Rochdale plain, or were unsuccessful in their attempts to do so.

It should be stressed that none of these deductions are made redundant by knowledge from other branches of history.

Virtually our only knowledge of the political history of Lancashire in the Dark Ages comes from place-names. Serious chroniclers are predominantly concerned with Winchester and Wessex during this period.

Even so, we can make more precise deductions about political events with the aid of place-names than those already made. For example the Anglo-Saxons were not supplanted by Norsemen in the area, but it does appear as if one group of Anglo-Saxons (the Northumbrians) were supplanted by another (the Mercians). The ending 'ing' in Billinge and Melling recurs in Pickering, and many other places in the North and East, but not in the West. There may be up to a hundred places called Bolton - all of them in the northern part of the Pennines. Irwell is in the Northern dialect too. On the other hand the West Midland or Mercian form 'wall' for the Northern 'well' is obvious in Wallgate (Wigan), Childwall, Thelwall and Walshaw. Manchester is also Northern in its first element; West Midlands speakers would have changed it to 'mon' in the very early centuries (and Thame to *Thome as well). All these names show a layer of Northumbrian in Lancashire. But the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says very briefly that the Mercians defeated the Northumbrians at Manchester in the tenth century. Place-names tell us that the whole of Lancashire south of the Ribble was taken over about this time, most probably as a result of the battle. When documents become numerous from the twelfth century onwards, all the place-names reflect a Mercian dialect. The Mercian for 'hill' for example was 'hull', and Aspull, Hulton and Pendle (Pen hull) appear in their Mercian forms in all the most reliable texts from the high middle ages. But by looking carefully enough one detects a Northumbrian layer beneath the Mercian.

Hence place-names tell us about broad political events which we would be completely ignorant of if we had to rely entirely on other sources. But recently there has been an important development making much more precise distinctions possible. Hitherto it has been known that the border between k and ch which I discussed above runs somewhere between Lancaster and Ribchester, and somewhere between Doncaster and Chesterfield. It now seems possible to say exactly where - which parish boundary functioned also as a dialect boundary in any given century of the Middle Ages. The work has not yet been done, and especially in Lancashire

there is a great deal of scope for the amateur provided he has a rudimentary knowledge of Latin (most of the texts with medieval placenames are otherwise wholly in Latin). The reason for our uncertainty up to now is that most medieval scribes display a lack of care. Because of this, names in the border area are given in either of the alternatives, so that the border seems a gradual shading. But we know from Germany and Italy that dialect-borders in real life are sharp. One village has its form, and the form spoken in the next village is subjected to ridicule, even though it may be more wide-spread nationally. It now seems as far as medieval England is concerned that the careful scribes can be identified. Strange as it may seem, reliable scribes are those who do not make mistakes. The large majority of medieval scribes make many mistakes, such as 'Stockfort' for 'Stockport' or 'Garstone' for 'Garstang'. It appears that the small minority who remain error-free also show remarkably precise dialect-boundaries. We can tell, for example, that Wiswell, which is always spelt with an a (e.g. 'Wiswall') in medieval texts, is Mercian. Clitheroe, however, three miles away always remained Northumbrian. 'Wellgate' - still the name of a street in the town - is always spelt with an e.

For counties except Lancashire the reliable scribes remain to be established, though it is only a matter of time before they are. For Lancashire, they have now been identified; and I should be pleased to hear from anyone interested in helping with the analysis of the boundaries which emerge from their works. A close study of place-names reveals many, many interesting surprises to those who persevere, and as far as medieval dialect boundaries are concerned, one can say that the amount of work that has been done does not approach even one per cent of that which will be necessary over the next few decades.

Geoffrey Cubbin
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LIVING LANCASHIRE SPEECH: A SURVEY

The Lancashire Dialect Society has offered its help to the North Western Sound Archive in a survey of living Lancashire speech which will be centred on the Archive's headquarters at Clitheroe Castle.

The survey illustrates the way in which the interests of the Society and of the Archive overlap each other. The tapes and recordings of oral history which the Archive collects are not brought together because of their dialect interest, but because they preserve people's memories of events, social conditions, industrial processes, folklore and much else. They will, inevitably, include dialect words, and unless there is available some comprehensive glossary of these there will be a danger that future users of the records will fail to understand them. The glossary is of course of primary importance to the Society, which exists to encourage the study and the use of local Lancashire speech.

As noticed on p. , the collection will be stored on the computer which is available to the Archive. This will allow additions to be entered easily, and the whole collection to be sorted and printed out in various forms. It will ultimately be possible to extract lists for particular localities, for instance; or lists of words connected with particular occupations. Necessarily, the use that can be made of particular entries depends on the details which are included in them: details of the place where the word was used, of its meaning, of the area of human activity it appertains to, etc. The archivist, Mr Ken Howarth, has prepared a standard form on which words may be entered, with a check-list of such necessary details as these. The completed form will represent the last stage of the recording process, before the information is transferred to the computer. Members of the Society who agree to help in the survey may of course wish to do their own collecting in various ways; for instance, by making tape-recordings of free conversation with dialect speakers. It will be important however that entries are sent to Clitheroe on the standard forms.

It should be stressed that the survey is concerned with living Lancashire speech; words and phrases used currently, or in living memory. Words taken from literature are excluded.

Members interested in offering help should contact the Secretary, Bob Dobson (address on p44) or the archivist, Ken Howarth (address on p16).

THE NORTH WEST SOUND ARCHIVE

An archive is a collection of evidence for the use of people interested in the past, and the past includes everything before this morning's breakfast. The essence of an archive is that its holdings should be accessible; and anyone who has tried to organize systematically anything at all - say, for instance, the books in a small library, or an average collection of slides - will have some slight insight into the problems an archivist lives with.

In the lifetime of most of us, the nature and importance of archives have been altered in three significant ways. The most obvious is the torrent of change which has swept over us, not only in Britain and its European backyard but throughout the world. In this country you need be no more than sixty to remember the cat's-whisker beginnings of the radio, the coming of talking pictures, with the rise and fall of the cinema as a public institution, and the flawed beginnings of television. The most common sight on the road was something being pulled by a horse. The land was farmed by methods which Turnip Townsend would have recognized and probably also Alfred the Great, and industry was still in the age of steam. The changes that have overcome this pattern of life are obvious to anyone with eyes and ears. It was equally obvious that they have been accompanied by political and social upheavals, economic disasters and military conflicts on a sad and enormous scale. It is not necessary to be wedded to the values of tradition to wish to record as much as possible of what is happening to our ways of living, and those that are still accessible to living memory, before the tide drifts over them for good. The systematic collection of records, and of those which relate to the events and conditions of ordinary life, in particular, is more urgent than it has ever been.

The second significant factor is the development of easy methods of sound recording. Up to the last few decades, our knowledge of everyday living in the past has depended on the survival of written evidence. This has been restricted by the extent of literacy; and even when people have been literate, most of them have been better at reading than at writing. Evidence is rarely altogether absent, it should be said; the Paston Letters, with its detailed accounts of the life of a fifteenth century Norfolk family, represents the sort of record which can be found to some extent in

every age. But most people even today do not take naturally to the pen, and writing is a lonely and unsociable occupation. Sound recording has changed the scene radically, and allows us to preserve for the future a range of experiences that has not been so readily accessible before. The breakthrough came with the development of the magnetic tape-recording, at first in the open-reel generation of instruments and more recently with portable cassette-recorders. Like photography, the business is now all very easy; and if technology has (again like photography) taken the art and craft out of the control of the ordinary user, this has gone along with enhanced demands for expertise in the back room. Anyone can speak a monologue to the recorder, or be interviewed in front of it; memories can be preserved, or indeed released, by the process; and accounts can be set down ranging from the techniques of dying crafts to the experience of actual historical events such as the battles of the First World War. The recording does not need necessarily to be a memory at all, for events themselves may be directly recorded unfiltered through the mind of any sort of reporter. For example, when the Victoria Theatre at Stoke on Trent was preparing its documentary play about The Fight for Shelton Bar - a local steel-works under threat some years ago, and on that occasion saved from closure - the writers and producers gained permission to record the actual union meetings at which the threat and its response were debated; and these still exist not as a record of history, but as a sight of history itself. (The analogy with photography is still strong). Finally, the members of a dialect society such as our own must recognise the scholarly importance of preserving human voices in all their varieties of accent, dialect and register.

The cheapness and ease of tape recording has meant that the potential volume of archive material for the future is now enormous. Non-historians may sometimes think that records of the past in general are relatively scarce and therefore manageable. In spite of the limitations that arise from restricted literacy mentioned earlier, this is for most periods except the remote past, not true. The problem for the archivist is one of abundance rather than paucity, and the vast quantity of tape-recorded material now becoming available multiplies the abundance. It is fortunate that the technology that produced the tape-recorder should, in a vastly more complex development, have resulted in the computer: an advanced means of storing and sorting data,

available to archivists as well as to all other professionals who live by information. This is the third factor in our present situation.

The North West of England contains, in the North West Sound Archive, an important new institution set up to exploit these new possibilities. It was established at a public meeting in Manchester in 1979 with the aim of meeting the urgent need to record the oral culture and traditions of the region. It is financed on a subscription basis, mainly by local authorities, for whom this work is a natural extension of their museum responsibilities. The Archivist - Mr Ken Howarth - is responsible to an Executive Committee and to the membership. The archive is integrated into the museums and libraries services of the region.

The staff of the archive do a considerable amount of original recording, especially on subjects where little information has survived in other forms. At present, for instance, work is being done on the history of farming in the region; and on a major project about life inside Strangeways Prison in Manchester. The Archive has access to about 12,000 recordings, including many local radio tapes and recorded programmes. Its holdings include important interviews with leading scientists on their specialisms: Sir Bernard Lovell on radio astronomy, for instance, and Professor Tom Kilburn on early computer development in Manchester (an important centre). Some earlier collections of recordings have found a home in the Archive: tapes of personal reminiscences of the painter L.S. Lowry, for instance, and the Trevor Sharp folk-life collection on the Yorkshire Dales. It has more recent material on such subjects as the Yorkshire Ripper, and recordings made by Solidarity workers in the Polish dockyards.

The back-room expertise demanded from sound archivists is exemplified by the Wagstaff collection of early recordings made in Salford, on acetate tape rather than on the more premanent stock now in use, which are now seriously deteriorating. The skills developed to rescue them have put the Archive in a leading position in this branch of expertise. They receive many enquiries about the conservation of sound recordings and are involved in contacts with similar institutions elsewhere in the world.

Extending the work of putting on record the changing life of

the region has brought regular collaboration with local authorities, especially in the formation and training of local groups under the Manpower Services Scheme. It is currently involved with groups at Bolton, Sefton, Wigan, Manchester, and Milnthorpe, and with the Liverpool Dock History Survey.

The North West Sound Archive is centred on premises at Clitheroe Castle, where it has a speech studio, facilities for transferring and editing taped material, and a recording store with a controlled environment. It will eventually be in a position to provide cassette copies of recordings, where appropriate (and where copyright provisions allow) to schools and to the general public, through the public libraries and museums. Its area covers Cumbria, Lancashire, Cheshire, Greater Manchester, Merseyside, the Peak of Derbyshire, and the Isle of Man.

Two of its projects involve computers. It maintains a databank at the University of Manchester's Regional Computer Centre, via the Manchester Museum. Up to the present about four thousand recordings are indexed and catalogued on it and the number is increasing. Secondly, and of particular interest to members of the Lancashire Dialect Society, Mr Howarth has been working for several years on a regional word list. At present it includes 3,000 words, ready to be entered on the computer for recording, storage and sorting, with a possibility of future publication. This can obviously be expanded, and ought to be expanded. Discussions have taken place with the Society, and a separate notice on p.12 of this issue announces a project which it is hoped all members will be willing to participate in.

Fuller information about the Archive can be had from the Archivist, Mr Ken Howarth, AMA, MBKS, at the North Western Sound Archive, Clitheroe Castle, Clitheroe, Lancs. Telephone Clitheroe 27897.

John Levitt

CALL MY BLUFF: A dialect version of the game by Fred Palmer

1. FOOTMART

- A. A footmart is a stall at a fair, or market, which we would call a jumble stall, and from which were sold a variety of items at a very cheap price. All the goods being very much second-hand, many things were almost useless, and a person could be called a fool (foo) for buying anything at a footmart.
- B. A foomart is a large wooden paddle used in the olden days by landlords, to stir beer in a golker (large tank behind the bar), at the time when beer was brewed on the premises in 'pubs'. It also came in handy at times for getting rid of unwanted customers who had had too much to drink and were trying to cause trouble.
- C. A foomart is an animal which looks very much like a ferret, and is called in English a polecat. Two hundred years ago, country people kept 'foomart-dogs' trained to catch foomarts, because these caused damage and injured farm livestock.
-

2. CATERWAWIN

- A. Caterwawin is the action of providing a meal for a village meeting - we would probably now say 'catering'. The farmers and their families met in the village hall, or on the local 'freehold' field in summer, country games were played, and the tables were laid with bread, cheese, buns, ale, etc. Those who supplied the foods were 'caterwawin'.
- B. Caterwawin is a somewhat drastic remedy employed by farmers of old times to burn sores and other types of scab which formed on the skins of cattle. Similar to branding in practice, a hot iron was used to (we would say) 'cauterise' the sore and kill any germs.
- C. Caterwawin is a sort of adolescent love-play between young (or not-so-young!) people - a boy and girl who fancied one the other would often lark about, chasing each other inside or outside a building, she uttering shrill laughs or cries of anguish whenever the boy managed to touch her. This sort of play is 'caterwawin'.
-

3. FAIN

- A. Fain is an anglo-saxon word meaning 'glad', and this with a rather special kind of glad feeling, being very thankful that some particular thing has happened to one.
- B. A fain is a piece of iron or steel blade, fitted to the back of a hand-guided, horse-drawn plough, to make sure the device ploughs a straight furrow by digging into the ground as the plough travels forward.
- C. Fain is a slang name for cloudiness in beer, and if on holding the glass up to the light the drink is found to have 'too much of a fain', the drinker could at one time legally return it to the landlord of the house for replacement.

4. GLOPPENT

- A. This is an adjective meaning 'round-shaped', but not necessarily circular - it could mean ovoid, or simply 'rounded', and describe the corners of a building or object 'gloppent a bit' when the sharp edge is taken off.
 - B. Gloppent means 'showing surprise' - - the facial appearance of open-mouthed and wide-eyed amazement or look of disbelief when one cannot easily understand a sudden sight.
 - C. Gloppent is an old word meaning 'taken over', or 'confiscated', or perhaps 'commandeered', for it was used to refer to premises which had been taken over by the military for the billeting of soldiers or storage of weapons.
-

5. CEAWRAKE

- A. A ceawrake is a sloping field or meadow, used by farmers only to graze their cows, and named separately from other parts of the farm because quite often this land was unsuitable for other farm uses.
 - B. A ceawrake is a small tool used for cleaning ashes from underneath a fire. Since one often had to cower down to do this, the instrument was known as a ceawr-rake.
 - C. 'Ceawrake' was the name given to a form of rheumatism (ache) caused by the body being held in a confined position, e.g. in a damp coal-mine, and was often suffered by those whose occupations consisted of this sort of work.
-

6. WINTREDGE

- A. Wintredge was a man from the south of England who came to live in the north of Manchester. He invented a cough - medicine made from molasses and certain Indian spices, and sold it as a patent medicine in the markets of Lancashire towns. The name became a by-word when describing any drink which stung the throat - 'Be ceerful - it's as sharp as a wintredge!.
- B. A wintredge is a clothes rack for wet washing. Poor people in Lancashire villages used to put washing out to dry on a hedge in summer. In winter a string or strip of wood was erected near the fireplace in the house, and used for this purpose it was called a wintredge.
- C. At one time in England there was a tax on windows - - the more your house had the more tax you paid. The amount of window-area in the house was reckoned in square feet, and was known as the 'wintredge' (windowage) of the dwelling.
- - - - -

7. WYTHEN KIBBO

- A. This is a stout stick made from green timber straight from the tree. Four or five feet in length, and with a knobbly end, it was used for general purposes (i.e. walking, poking, striking, etc) by famers and country-people in the course of a days work.
- B. 'Wythen Kibbo' is a term used (long ago) to mean 'in the acceptable way of doing things' (within the law). If a man was for instance, saying he would break down his own front door, people might say, "Well - it's thi noan dur - it's wythen kibbo!.
- C. Wythen kibbo is a phrase used in argument by one who claims he is right, and wishes to say, "Why then continue to argue?" - - "Wythen kibbo?"
- - - - -

8. MOUNDIWARP

- A. Moundiwarp is a small lump formed on cloth whilst it is being woven on a loom, where a bit of fluff has caused the warp threads to rise above the weft thread as the shuttle has taken that across the loom.

- B. A Moundiwarp is the name given to the burrowing animal called in English a mole. It is called that because the animal warps the ground into mounds, which are of course molehills.
- C. A moundiwarp is a kind of mudbank often found at the side of a river where a bend occurs. The river, on flood, brings down mud or silt and deposits it where the slowing of the flow cannot support the mud any longer, so a pile is built up which, when the flood subsides, stands above the water surface, and is a moundiwarp of the river.
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9. FRATCHIN

- A. The verb Fratchin' is related to scutching, the tearing apart of cotton preparatory to processing for manufacture into cotton goods; fratchin' is the last bit of the process, picking out small lumps and breaking them into strands before they are cleaned and spun.
- B. Fratchin' is being argumentative or trying to cause trouble, even to the stage when it may involve fighting. A person who seems to enjoy acting in this manner is called a 'fratcheous mon' - - - "He's allus fratchin'", they'd say.
- C. A 'fratchin' is the name given to a vegetable (usually a potato) which has been damaged during harvesting. These often had to be sold by the farmer at a cheaper price than undamaged vegetables.
-

10. LOBSCOUSE

- A. Lobscouse is simply stewed beef and potatoes, sometimes with other things added, and fatty meat is used for the dish, making a particularly greasy stew meal - lobscouse.
- B. Lobscouse was a children's game played in the Liverpool area in bygone days. It was similar to Riallio, but when a player is caught by the one who is 'on'. he has to throw (lob) a missile (usually a half-brick) into a bin, if he wants to avoid being 'on' himself next time.
- C. A lobscouse was what a very dirty and ragged urchin was called last century by those of his fellows who, by hard work, or occasionally good fortune, found themselves more able to afford the luxuries or better clothing and soap-and-water.
-

ANSWERS, 1c, 2C, 3A, 4B, 5B, 6B, 7A, 8B, 9B, 10A.

SEAWND O'T SEA

Row on row they come in hard
Angry waves tup promenade;
Snarlin', smashin', spittin', strikin'-
O'erhead a seagull shrieking.

Each wave dees upon the rocks,
Shattert in a million drops;
Diamonds of the sea so wild,
Each reflects a mon and childt.

'Uddledt gether, stayin' waarm
Grandad keeps the lad from harm;
Salty-soaked an' flecked wi' spray,
Each views t'sea a diff'rent way.

Little boy picks up a shell
Tossed on't promenade bi't swell.
"Sithee grandad war ah've fun!"
"Aye lad, come on - it's tahn't go wom."

Back awom an' far from't sea,
T'childt sits on his grandad's knee.
'E taks 'is little shell so dear
An' presses it ter't th'owd mon's ear.

"Neaw then grandad - what con't hear?"
Th'owd mon's eyes grow wild wi' fear-
An empty shell's awakkent dreams,
Fill't wi' feigher an' dead men's screams.

North Atlantic - 'Forty Three,
Torpedo makes its way through't sea.
White-faced sailors 'owd their breath-
One heartbeat away from death.

A searin' blast - then't sea's aflame
Fillt wi' men who skrike God's name.
Wi' faces brunt, they choke an' gasp
Tossed lahk rag dolls in't th'ocean's grasp.

Desperate men claw one another
An' former comrades feight each other
Fer bits o' wood that float on't sea-
Fer who's fer't live, an' who's fer't dee.

Suddenly, a voice bræyks through
"Grandad! Grandad! What's to do?"
It shatters neetmares in 'is yed
As th' ungry sea reclaims its dead
"Nuthin's wrung lad - aw is well".
"But grandad, what did't hear in't shell?"
"Nothin' owd love fer't worry thee-
It's seawnd o't sea. Just seawnd o't sea..."

Dave Dutton

(This is the winning poem of the 1982 Dialect Writing Competition at the Fylde Folk Festival. Mr Dutton received the Samuel Laycock Trophy to hold for one year, and the Society's framed certificate. Highly commended were Alan and Les Bond (Accrington), Harvey Kershaw MBE (Rochdale) and Mrs Jackie Hindle (Burnley).

MORE LANCASHIRE LIMERICKS

An impatient young feller fro' Halsall
Allus poured 'is 'ot tay i' the salsall;
They said, 'Send 'im to Treales,
When tha finds all else feales;
They con deal wi' a young trouble calsall.

There were a young feller fro' Huyton,
As they thowt there were nothing could fruyton;
'Til at kennels i' Gateacre
'E met an owd tateacre
As chased 'im o' t' road to New Bruyton

John Sephton

SHAP THISEL

Aw fooak, when ther babbies, 're shapped wi t'life they live,
Some lornin' th'art o' grabbin', while some lorn heaw to give;
Ther's some 'at loyse ther fayther soon, - some even Mam an' aw,
An' hev to trust in t'Lord aboon to 'elp on t'gate to go.
Ther's some 'at wark i' jobs so dree it torns ther thowts
reight in,

An' them 'at's looase an' fancy-free fer good wark or for sin;
It's that part o' young life 'at's wild, an' th'hardest part
is t'gap
Between t'last day when th'art a child, an't fost when th'art
a chap.

That day's not in no almanac, nor onny book o'lornin',
No fortune-teller's zodiac'll gie thee onny warnin';
Tha's just to bide th time an' wait, an' try not to be clever,
For WISDOM'S LEET as shows thee t'gate - - an' some'll wait
for ever!

But if tha nobbut take thi share, an' gi'es all as tha con,
Tha'll find thi cubort's never bare, as heaw mich mut hev gone;
An' when tha thinks tha's nowt so mich, one day tha'll realise
I' some ways then, tha'rt rowlin' rich - i' things no money buys!
For grabbin' fooak dee like t'rest, no money takkin' wi 'em,
An' when ther jailed i' deeth, t'best of avarice weern't free
'em;

Soa, i' THY life nurse WISDOM mon, it hes no iron fetter,
An' do for each chap as tha con - - then all o' life is better!

Some fooak need a lift on t'way - or happen just a shove,
An' some advice to ease ther day, - or just a bit o' love;
Ther's one thing mooar 'at eases life, an' helps fooak monny a
mile

Wi' sheddin' looads o' frets an' strife - it's just a cheery
smile!

Then if tha's lorn't aw as tha con, an' gi'en it fooak 'at's
beawt it,
Tha'll find mooast'll do t'same, owd mon, an' tha'll not be
wi'eawt it;

For everythin' tha gets, th's paid. O'debts then, tha'll be free,
An' be a mon of whom it's said, "He never awst to dee!"

Fred Palmer

RACHDA WAKES (after John Trafford Clegg)

Well neaw then lass, come on, let's goo,
- It's Rachda wakes, tha knows,
We'n mak t'last century a foo
Wi' t'places neaw fooak goes.

Of cooarse ther's t'fair if tha should choose,
An' t'shootin' galleries still.
An' fer th'owd chaps ther's loads o' booze
To sup an' hev ther fill.

But then, ther's stuff 'at Edwin Waugh
Could ne'er once hev bowt
An' lots fer cooartin' fooak an' aw
'At his lot couldn't hev thowt.

Wod would they think if they could see
Aw t'coaches, cars, an' trains,
Or see aw t'fooak go abroad
- An fly theer i' big planes?

They'd e'en be flummoxed if they see
Electric leet i' t'dark,
Ne'er mind aw t'world news o'T.V.
When they geet hooam fro wark!

Ah think ther's some things as they d miss
Though, as they glented reawnd;
They'd see a lovin' couple kiss
Whol stonnin' on t'fairgreawnd,

But booath'd hev t'same length of hair
An' booath be werrin' jeans;
They wouldn't think it wer a 'pair'
If tha sees wod Ah meeon!

Hoo happen would be t'prattiest theer
Of aw o' them as'd come,
But he wouldn't link her hooam, Ah fear,
Through quiet field an' lumb.

I'stead o' that, they'd jump in t'car
An' t'same wi't'monny-a-scooar',
An' then at fifty-mile-an-heawr
T' ord t'motorway they rooar!

Well - - happen eawr time's t'best for us,
For Trafford Clegg - - 'too slippy'
Soa neaw Ah'll jump o' th'express bus
An' co' at t'chinese chippy.

At leeost, when they wor cooartin' there
They hed romance, bu th'mass,
An' tha could tell which t'fella were
- An' which one wor a lass!

Fred Palmer MCMLXXIII

T'SICK BED

"Sit up, an Ah'll straighten thi pillows,"
"Ah can't," was the weak reply,
"It hurts when Ah move mi body,
An Ah feel like Ah'm goin t'die".
His medicine and tablets,
Wer strewn abowt th'bed.
His weak an feble hand,
Was pressed again'st his head.
"You'll see t'things mi luv,
An don't drive mi car t'fast.
An Ah'll have that cup o'tea,
Fer it may well bi mi last."
Ah looked at the man on the bed,
An thowt someone should bi towed.
An soa t'Jane, Ah calmly said,
"Thi fathers geet a cowl."

Jennifer Cowburn

SAMUEL LAYCOCK: SELECTED POEMS: edited with an introduction
by Glyn Hughes: Ceolfrith 1981. Price £3.00 paper.

Any book which treats a dialect poet seriously is to be welcomed, and Glyn Hughes' anthology is to be welcomed for that reason. Laycock and other dialect poets of the Nineteenth century deserve attention not merely for nostalgic purposes, or as quaint oddities, or as comedians, but because they had a certain talent, and they could make the language sing.

Actually Laycock is an odd fish. He looks odd in those faded photographs with his long gaunt face and his bushy beard. A working class Tennyson. And his poetry is odd. It is so uneven. "Warblings from an Owd Songster" he called his collected poems and half the time he seems anything but a songster. He is the master of the pedestrian metre, and even in selected poems one cannot easily eliminate the plod of his verse. Hughes talks of the 'sorrowful patient tread of the verse' in 'Aw've Hard Work To Howd Up Mi Yed', one of his songs of the Cotton Panic, and claims that it doesn't once slip into leaden prose. I'm not so sure:

'But really aw've nowt aw con give,
Except it's a bit ov a song,
An' th' Muses han hard work to live,
One's bin hamper'd and powfagg'd so long.

That insistent three beat line can grow a bit powfagging itself after a time.

Much of the time too, his language seems almost deliberately pedestrian.

'Aw should so loike a good blow eawt
A feed off beefsteak pie;
But aw can ne'er get nowt loike that
Wi' th' bit aw draw, not I!

He seems to avoid the possibilities of the dialect for the vivid and the gripping. Indeed it has always seemed to me that, when we consider the wealth of dialect poetry produced during the American Civil War, in consistency Laycock's 'Lyrics of the Cotton Famine rank a poor third to the less widely known poems of Joseph Ramsbottom and William Billington.

Yet this is the same poet who could write what Hughes rightly calls a 'masterpiece' - 'Welcome Bonny Brid' - where both

rhythm and language show a versatility and life, and a feeling for the nuances of the dialect which no other poet has bettered. If ever a poem was written through inspiration, this is the one. It is intensely moving, yet avoids sentimentality in an area where it was very easy for a Victorian to be sentimental - and it does this because it is centred in a real rather than imagined poverty and conveys a simple warm affection.

But tho' we've childer two or three,
We'll mak' a bit o' reawm for thee,
Bless thee, lad!
Tha'rt th' prattiest brid we have
i' th' nest,
So hutch up closer to mi breast;
Aw'm thi dad.

One of Laycock's virtues when he is fully engaged with a poem is an almost Jacobean grasp of the macabre image - the surprising connection. There's the glorious one in Thee an' Me - worthy of Webster or Marvell

'But deawn i'th' grave, what spoils o th'
sport,
No ray o' leet con shoine;
An' th' worms'll have hard work to sort
Thy pampered clay fro' mine.

And in a poem like 'Rowl Away, Theaw Grand Owd Ocean' there is a fine grotesque humour as he imagines the sea drowning the sounds of all the Nonconformist sects

'Baptists, Independents, Quakers,
Followers o' Young an' Joe;
Ranters, Unitarians, Shakers;
These are nowt - tha dreawns 'em o.

It's hard to believe that a poet who could get that triumphant emphasis on 'nowt' could perpetrate the plodding footfall of some of his other verse.

So, though I think sometimes Hughes is making rather large claims for Laycock in his Introduction I would certainly not wish to quarrel with his purpose of rescuing him from obscurity - and the poems Hughes has chosen judiciously show the width of Laycock's talent.

One quarrel I do have with Hughes is that he readily succumbs to the current orthodoxy that 'the Nonconformist movements, particularly the Methodists, absorbed and deflated the intellectual life and radical energy of the English working class' I know that Hughes has currently written a prize-winning novel which takes up this idea, and it plainly has a certain plausibility, but, as one brought up within this decadent tradition, it seems to me something of an oversimplification.

Laycock was actively engaged in the tee-total movement and perhaps this is what Hughes is thinking of when he talks of him missing 'the serious causes of his time' and selling out 'to the secondary ones'. Well, drunkenness may be an effect and not a cause, but it was pretty serious in the Victorian era, and Laycock's sentiments on Ireland in 'Cheer Up Irish Brothers' and on Imperialism in 'John Bull an' his tricks!' seem somewhat in advance of public opinion of the 1980s.

In any case non-conformity was not all loss - particularly to a poet. There is an article to be written on the influence of Watts and Charles Wesley on the verse of Waugh and Laycock and the dialect writers' poetic roots, as Waugh acknowledges, are in the songs of nonconformity as well as the dialect.

There are other minor irritations. I don't find the illustrations add much to the anthology and I think there might have been advantages in, for instance, grouping all the 'Lyrics of the Cotton Famine' together - there doesn't seem much order to the selection.

But such criticisms should not suggest that this is anything other than a good anthology of Laycock's poems. And Laycock, with all his warts, is well worth reading.

Brian Hollingworth

WEST YORKSHIRE DIALECT POETS, by Ken Edward Smith
£1.50 Dialect Books (The Old Manse, Chapel Row, Wilsden,
West Yorkshire

An absorbing account of the lives and works of the four stout Yorkshiremen Ben Preston, John Hartley, Ben Turner and Fred Brown, all of whom were in the top echelon of dialect poets of their times, which spread over the period 1819-1980.

Sometime contemporaries, the four did vary a little in their reactions to their particular day but had much in common, especially the 'weaving muse'. The main points are brought out in a very readable way, with carefully-chosen excerpts from writings. I could not help thinking (page 32) that Hartley's short poem 'Screw Lawse' is as applicable to our own day as it no doubt was to the day on which it was written!

Ken Smith has kept throughout a continuity which makes for pleasant perusal, suits an average person's ability to stay with the theme of the book, and compares the works of the quartet in a manner which brings out a clear explanation of poetry written in the weaving muse. It gives a picture of a whole busy 'county' consisting of the industrial areas of W. Yorkshire and E. Lancs., where this muse has been in action for over 150 years, being an integral and very living part of the culture and aspirations of the working folks.

The basic reasons for many present attitudes to life are clearly seen as one reads of the lives of these late, great men and their truly democratic influence on the formation of working society as we know it. They used the dialect, a medium despised by some but still in the minds of their followers. It is perhaps because of this that their work has not been as noted as it could have been in the standard English world, and here that grievance is to some extent redressed.

Contributions made by men of this calibre need to be restated periodically, and this book is a plain honest tribute to their interest in their working brothers and sisters, and the considerable everyday problems of those good people.

Fred Palmer

N.F. BLAKE *NON-STANDARD LANGUAGE IN ENGLISH LITERATURE*,
pub. Andre Deutsch, 1981 217 pp, £5.95.

Let it be said at once that this is a valuable and important book, and any reservations which follow deal with matters of small importance. Its most impressive feature is its wide range, from Chaucer's predecessors down to novels of the present day of which this person, as Kai Lung would have said, had never heard. The chief dialectal features of the language used by characters in fiction and drama are concisely listed and the book is readable as well as informative.

It may seem to some readers that the title is needlessly cumbersome. Most of the features of non-standard language quoted are clearly dialectal, apart from a few, like the language of Mr Polly, which represent idiolects, and most people would find it easier to define a dialect than a standard, or a non-standard, linguistic feature. The author calls attention to this difficulty when he says (p. 177) that in Galsworthy's novels slang is so frequent that it is in danger of becoming standard rather than non-standard. In the earlier chapters of the book the further difficulty arises that we cannot properly speak about non-standard language at a time when there was no standard. For a few minor blemishes the author must share blame with the printer, as on p. 185, where 'proceeded' is used where we might have expected 'preceded', a non-standard feature which shows that mild malapropisms are alive and well and living in books on the English language.

A problem which any author must face is that of balance, how much space to devote to each subdivision of his subject. In the present book one feels that less attention might have been paid, say, to Galsworthy or Edward Bond in order to leave room for a fuller discussion of George Bernard Shaw. The first reference to Shaw in the index at pp. 45-6 is frustrating, since there is no mention of Shaw on either of those pages. The chief discussion of Shaw's use of dialect comes later, but much more might have been said about *Pygmalion*, since the use of non-standard language is the main theme of that play. An even better example is the first act of *Captain Brassbound's Conversion*, where two regional dialects are represented, those of the Scotsman Rankin and the Cockney Drinkwater. One would have welcomed Professor Blake's views on the stage-direction describing Drinkwater's speech:

'His dialect, apart from its base nasal delivery, is not unlike that of smart London society in its tendency to replace diphthongs by vowels (sometimes rather prettily) and to shuffle all the traditional vowel pronunciations'. It would have been interesting to compare Shaw's theories with his practice.

The book includes an excellent bibliography, and it is only the egotism of this reviewer that makes him wonder whether G.L. Brook's *The Language of Shakespeare* (Deutsch, 1976) might have been included by reason of its last chapter, which deals with some of the subjects handled so competently by Professor Blake.

G.L. Brook

K.M. PETYT: *THE STUDY OF DIALECT: AN INTRODUCTION TO DIALECTOLOGY*, Andre Deutsch, 1980. Hardback, 236pp, £8 95.

The book begins with a most necessary and useful first chapter which defines various linguistic terms, particularly language, dialect and accent. In this first chapter, however, the word Northerners is used a little loosely on p. 20, where it is asserted that Northerners have a phoneme /ŋ/. Some do, but in a considerable number of areas in the North (e.g. Bolton, Stockport), [ŋ] is an allophone of /n/ before /k, g/.1.

Chapter 2 outlines the development of dialectology from 1800 until 1950, with particular emphasis, of course, on the development of linguistic geography, whilst the third chapter concentrates on the study of regional dialect in Britain. Chapter 4 presents the criticisms of traditional dialectology which have been made by linguists on the one hand and by social scientists on the other. A chapter follows on structural dialectology, with particular reference to the concepts of phoneme and diasystem. There is then a discussion of social and urban dialectology in the United States, and the pioneering work of Labov is described in some detail. Chapter 7 deals with social and urban dialectology in Britain, and the final chapter presents an outline of two other recent approaches: generative dialectology, and the work of Bailey and Bickerton on a continuum of varieties and dynamic modelling. This last approach is particularly interesting, in that it suggests a rapprochement between synchronic and diachronic approaches.

Unfortunately, Petyt's study seems to me to be written too much from the viewpoint of a single school of thought. It concentrates on the work of sociolinguists, particularly that of Labov, Trudgill and the author himself. Although Petyt observes at one point that it is not altogether fair to judge long-term projects such as SED in terms of criticisms based upon recent work (pp.115f.) and that the findings of traditional surveys are "by no means worthless" p.(116), and that such work is in a sense "legitimate" (pp. 111f.), nonetheless earlier work seems to be too often discussed in terms of what it was not, as seen from the Labov-Trudgill point of view, rather than in terms of what it was, or at least what it sought to be. Since the linguist's purpose is a part of the frame of reference for any study,² I feel that to criticise one type of work in terms of the theoretical assumptions and purposes underlying a completely different type of work is often not very productive.³

Similarly, it seems to me at times pointless to inveigh against the past simply because it was not the present. Modern linguistics established its scientific credentials very much upon the basis of the validity of the synchronic abstraction, and that abstraction subsequently underlay both structuralism and transformational-generative grammar. The concept of the phoneme, as has been remarked elsewhere, is quite possibly the most fruitful linguistic concept of the century. Both of these crucial developments in C20 linguistics were carried over into dialectology, but they are - in my opinion - undervalued in Petyt's study. The author's tendency to look at dialectology from the rather narrow perspective of one school of thought results in a lack of general historical perspective.

This emphasis on the viewpoint of sociolinguists has as its counterpart a neglect, or light dismissal, of other valuable work. Although, as the author observes in his Preface, coverage cannot be exhaustive in a work of this type, one might, in a book which is concerned with the development of the discipline of dialectology (pp.7f.), have expected that Hedevid's excellent and published study of the dialect of Dentdale would have received at least a mention, epitomising as it does a type of study intermediate between the diachronic approach of the past and the more purely synchronic approaches of some more recent work. Similarly, for a book which claims to be concerned with the more modern approaches of structuralism and sociolinguistics (p.8), the discussion of the few published structuralist studies in British dialectology is rather thin. Wolck's work on Buchan is not mentioned, and Silverteens work on Cockney and Viereck's on Gateshead receive rather short shrift on account of their failure to conform to the demands of the current orthodoxy (p.113, pp.152f.).

Despite some very coherent and intelligible exposition, then, this book is marred for me by virtue of its somewhat intolerant approach to the history of the discipline.

NOTES

1. Cf. Lodge (1966:28); Shorrocks (1981: 458); Wells (1970: 238) and Wells (1982: 179, 188f., 365f.) On the position of this sound in the history of English see e.g. Gimson (1974:49).
2. Cf. Shorrocks (1981: 32f.)
3. Cf. Shorrocks (1981: 44f.)

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Dr G. Shorrocks

K. RYDLAND: *VOWEL SYSTEMS AND LEXICAL-PHONEMIC PATTERNS IN SOUTH EAST CUMBRIA. A STUDY IN STRUCTURAL DIALECTOLOGY: STYDIA ANGLISTICA NOTVEGICA I.* Department of English, University of Bergen, 1982. NKT 125.00

This study presents a phonological description of the vowels of the traditional rural accents of South-East Cumbria. The network consists of 37 localities: 6 primary localities, which were previously investigated by the Survey of English Dialects, and 31 secondary localities. Whilst this work can to some extent be seen as a follow-up to SED, it is for the most part an independent study in terms of both data and analysis. As the author observes, "the purely phonetic recordings of SED often do not admit of complete structural analysis" (p.1, footnote 1).

A wealth of data is presented within the framework of structural dialectology, and the vowels of the primary localities are presented in terms of a structural diasystem. The author makes the point that "because most structural phonological studies are confined to a single account, the diasystemic method has not been much used in structural dialectology" (p. 48). In addition to giving a phonetic and phonemic account, Rydland describes the lexical incidence of the phonemes in terms of their Northern Middle English sources, draws conclusions concerning the accent areas of South-East Cumbria, and adds a useful appendix on modified vernacular, although his investigation of the latter was not carried out in any systematic manner. Whilst the traditional accents of South-East Cumbria are "highly diverse", it nonetheless proved possible for Rydland to identify "five reasonably well-defined accent areas": two in North Westmorland, two in South Westmorland, and one consisting of North Lonsdale and a part of South Westmorland (p. 360).

The book is well set out and richly illustrated by means of maps, tables and figures. It also contains a word index and a useful bibliography. This excellent presentation of a wealth of data within the well-tried theoretical framework of structuralism results in a work which will be of use to dialectologists many years hence. It is therefore unfortunate that one must entertain doubts about two aspects of the methodology and fieldwork.

Firstly, in seeking to elicit particular words, the author found that "the questioning technique" (cf SED approach)

was often "rather cumbersome" (p.43). As a result of this, other methods were used frequently: informants were asked "...to 'translate' words or phrases from the author's Standard English accent into the local idiom..." (p.43). Whilst Rydland defends this translation technique, in particular for phonological surveys, I feel that it is, amongst other things, a somewhat artificial technique and one by means of which a lot could be missed, and certainly no substitute for the analysis of an adequate corpus of continuous speech. I suspect that I should not be alone in having misgivings about this technique - and on various grounds.

Secondly, Rydland's observations on the taping of connected speech give cause for concern.

"Later, taping was extended to connected speech; however, many informants were reluctant to talk freely in front of the microphone, and would only talk naturally and spontaneously if they were not aware that they were being recorded. Besides, those who seemed not to be inhibited by the presence of the tape recorder often switched from the traditional accent to the modified vernacular...when talking at length into the microphone. The taping of longer samples of the traditional native accent was thus rather difficult.

In the secondary localities recordings of connected speech were not normally made"(p42).

I would raise several points here. 1) The fact that informants switch codes to some extent when being taped is no reason for not taping them. 2) Did the author try hard enough to tape informal connected speech? When working closely with informants, I found it quite possible to do this in my own research in Farnworth.* Simply to say that it is difficult to tape record informal connected speech hardly seems sufficient, if that is the type of speech that it would be desirable to analyse. 3) Were some informants recorded without their knowledge? The passage is not altogether clear, but this would, of course, raise ethical questions. 4) Since traditional vernacular is the medium of communication with intimates, should the author not have made more effort to record informal free-speech interviews? He writes that

"Connected speech for taping purposes was often elicited by asking for more detailed information about the meaning and use of words and phrases given as responses. In this way many informants

could easily be made to enlarge upon various subjects..." (p.44).

Word lists, translation techniques, questionnaires and discussions on semantics all seem rather formal to me. I feel that insufficient attention has been paid here to the concept of style - surely traditional vernacular is associated with the informal?

These points apart, however, Rydland's study has - as previously indicated - much to recommend it, and it will be a valuable source of information for a long time for students of Northern dialects.

Dr. G. Shorrocks

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Cf. G. Shorrocks, *A Grammar of the Dialect of Farnworth and District (Greater Manchester County, Formerly Lancashire)*.

PhD. University of Sheffield. 1980, and published in xerographic and microform by University Microfilms International, rec. no. 81-70,023.

J.C. Wells: *Accents of English*: Cambridge University Press, 1982. 3 volumes; £47.50 the set (hard back), £16.95 (paper)

The first thing to say is that these three volumes contain an immensely careful and systematic compilation of up to date evidence about the various ways of speaking the English language at present current in the English-speaking world. Volume I - the largest - gives an introduction; volume 2 covers the British Isles, including not only the various accents heard in England, but also Scottish, Welsh and Irish ways of pronouncing English; and volume 3 covers the rest of the world. Here are to be found accounts of English in North America, in the Caribbean, in Australia, New Zealand, India and the far east. It is comprehensive, and it will be invaluable for students of English pronunciation for a long time to come.

'Accents' are to be distinguished from 'dialects'; this book is about the former, not the latter. The difference between them is partly, but not wholly, simple. The simple part of it is that dialects comprise not only distinctive pronunciations, but distinctive words, meanings, grammatical patterns and idioms. The more complicated part is that dialect speakers can usually use standard English equivalents to certain dialect words, and when they do so pronounce them with a distinctive accent which is different from the dialect pronunciation. Well's example is the pair of words brig (dialect) and bridge (which may be pronounced with a local accent - for instance, a closer or more open vowel than in Received Pronunciation). Brig does not exist in Standard English, so a study of English accents should not concern itself with it. In effect, this seems to mean in this case that a dialect pronunciation (brig) is one that it is not possible to relate to Standard English pronunciation by fairly simple phonetic rules. For Mr Wells, brig and bridge are different words. Now, this is a very sensible distinction to make for practical purposes; but it is nevertheless arbitrary. Any competent philologist could relate the two words together by a comparatively simple and easily demonstrable formula. But this would take one back into history, and to a point where English and Norse varieties of common Germanic were not distinct; and Mr Wells chooses not to go so far. This may seem a pedantic point, but its importance is that this line of thought may lead the reader to believe that traditional dialects are in a significant sense

different from other varieties of English, having origins which require special study; though of course I do not attribute this view to Mr Wells. In fact, traditional dialects are related to English at large by the same social processes, acting through time, as all other discernible variations in language. What Mr Wells calls accents are pronunciation variations which are describable within the terms he chooses to use, and at the level of complexity he chooses to adopt. It is arbitrary, but admissible.

Volume I gives an outline of the principles Mr Wells is adopting in his work and the distinctions that arise from them. A lot of the discussion is highly technical, but he always writes very lucidly. He is not interested solely in synchronic linguistics: he realises that historical explanation of features of pronunciation are often the only explanations there can be, and the two hundred pages in which he outlines developments and processes in the development of English since the Great Vowel Shift are admirable. (The Vowel Shift is a legitimate but arbitrary cut-off point again.) The chapter which discusses the social aspects of language is also admirable: differences between the sexes; variations according to a speaker's age; the importance of socio-economic class; the ways in which people perceive linguistic variations and the social conclusions they draw from them.

Phoneme theory necessarily figures largely in this volume, and it is here again that the arbitrary nature of many decisions of modern linguistics is drawn to one's attention. When one is covering a very wide field such as this, the degree of detail one goes into is critical. The question always arises as to how significant are the surface features of the forms of speech to be described. Some, clearly, are not significant at all. Every speaker of a language has a distinctive way of doing it: but all students agree that these individual idiosyncracies are not linguistically important. In the speech of a self-contained community there will be further variations, from person to person, and from occasion to occasion, which a highly discriminating ear could distinguish, but which, in general, even the speakers themselves are not aware of. Higgins and Pickering in Pygmalion, types of the old style

phonetician, boasted of the number of distinct vowel sounds they could recognise - far more than were recognised by people using the language: that is to say, far more subtle distinctions than were ever meaningfully used. The modern linguist treats these as irrelevant, and Wells criticises the field workers of the Survey of English Dialects for not seeking out 'deeper patterns lying behind the pronunciations used by the informant', and giving too much of a surface description of an accent. The deeper patterns are the phonemes: entities realised in different ways by the speakers of a language, but being recognised as 'the same' for purposes of being combined into words and so to convey meanings. Now this theory is reasonable: it gives a controllable body of material instead of a chaotic one. But if one takes this line of thinking a little further, accent distinctions themselves become linguistically irrelevant as long as communication is possible between the speakers concerned. If one phoneme can realise itself in different degrees of aspiration of an initial p say, with no importance for the linguist, may not another realise itself in a northern or southern pronunciation of the vowel in 'come'? And why does this matter, linguistically? And how far does it deserve the attention it gets from students of English accents? The phoneme is an abstraction, useful because it makes a description of language easier. The degree of abstractness one gives it may be quite arbitrary: and may depend on the degree of detail in its description that the student feels competent to give.

Most readers will turn first to the second volume, to see what is said about the accent they are most familiar with, and to check its accuracy. They will find a great deal, in a very succinct but clear exposition, but of course they will find gaps. It is not easy to cover the best part of the world in seven hundred pages. If we look back to the most systematic large-scale survey that has been done in England - the Survey of English Dialects - we will also find gaps. A standard set of questions was taken to villages throughout the country by a small team of investigators with the same phonetic training; they did as much as could be expected of them, in their ten years' work; but every local investigator knows that, between the reference villages the survey chose, there are many other variations of local language awaiting description. How could it be otherwise?

The width of the net you trawl with determines the delicacy of what you catch. Mr Wells has to use an even wider one. For his purposes, for instance, England consists of London, the South, and the North, and the North ends on a line between the Wash and the Severn. Of course he is aware of differences within each of these areas, and in discussing particular sounds he has interesting things to say about them. Necessarily, there are things he misses. For instance, he describes an unusual pronunciation of words such as mouth (p359), with a fronted second element in the diphthong, giving a result which, if I may avoid phonetic symbols, can be represented as 'my-th' (as if one were starting to say 'my thumb'). He locates it in 'parts of southern Lancashire and Greater Manchester'. My own observations show it to be very frequent amongst older speakers in north Staffordshire also. At many other points his account could be amplified, and the student setting out to describe the local pronunciation of, say, Accrington or Lancaster, would find this part of Mr Well's work a help at the very beginning. Again, this can be no serious criticism; the world is too big for detailed description. Out of the 700 pages, London has 31, The South 25, The North 23, General American 20, and New York City 16. This disposition of space must reflect to some extent the availability of source material: New York is comparatively well treated, perhaps, because Labov has done and inspired much valuable work, and New Zealand gets away with five pages because that was just about all there was.

Any given English reader, with some special interest in local speech, would perhaps find parts of Volume 2 disappointing; and other readers might have a similar response to Volume 3. But the overall verdict must be one of pleasure and admiration. There is no final proper degree of detail that we have a right to demand at any given point in an account such as this: total detail is impossible, and short of that the test must be its usefulness for the given purpose. This is the nearest to a single comprehensive treatment of the accents of English we have yet had, and it will be invaluable to students for a long time to come.

John Levitt

The Lancashireman's Dictionary by Peter Wright. Dalesman (1982)
Pbk 80pp. £1.50p (£1.70 post)

It has amazed me that I have noticed very little Press publicity given to this book, as it seems ideally suited for journalists to laugh at in the way they often do. It should be a tremendous commercial success, as it has got what the man in the street is looking for - explanations of the given words and phrases (and there are hundreds of them), examples of their uses in dialect and standard English, daftness, simpleton-ness, with an underlying cleverness. The publishers must think Peter Wright damned clever to have collected and devised just the sort of list that can interest readers looking for something light yet interesting. There are words here that will certainly interest the more serious student, and help attune his ear to the Wright standard. The book should be required reading by every member of our Society.

Bob Dobson

Will Yo Come O Sunday Mornin? - The 1896 Battle for Winter Hill. by Paul Salveson (1982) published by Red Rose Publishing, 47 Clay Street, Eagley, Bolton @ £1.50p (20p postage) 47pp. Pbk.

Paul Salveson has told this story simply because it needed telling. It is clear he feels for Bolton folk and needs to tell all of the masses from mucky Bolton walking "onto" t' tops o' Rivington an' Winter Hill" in 1896 in defiance of a local landlord. He tells it well, and for good measure he embellishes the easy-to-read text with a dialect sketch of Teddy Ashton's, who was one of the leading figures in the story anyway. The story is one to make Lancashire folk tingle with pride at the actions of the heroes, whose actions make our access to the moors so easy. Paul Salveson is the publisher, truly a champion of the red rose.

Bob Dobson

Mary's Meanderings: Dialect Verse by Mary Smith.
Pub. (1982) by Mary Smith, Smithy Cottage, Weeton, Kirkham,
Preston. pbk 55pp. £1.50p (£1.75 post)

In response to the many of her verses in the dialect of the Fylde, Mary Smith has taken the plunge and had her verses published for all to enjoy. Enjoyment is the key word, for everyone of the 39 has that ingredient. Many of these verses have special meaning in Mary's life, and from them we share her home village, and close to her own back kitchen, a quality which I think the reader will recognise and enjoy (there's that word again). Easily recognisable too will be the words Mary uses which aren't used in quite that way elsewhere in Lancashire - "Food in the Fylde" (p.19) will interest those keen on regional dishes too, with its talk of knodden puddin, throdkin, meyl appa pies, oot biscuits, Weeton Fair cakes mixed wi ale, ginger buns and jannock, singin' Jinny and splewkins. I'm searching for a phrase which gives to the ear what "gastronomic delight" gives to the stomach.

It probably didn't occur to Mary that folk may not understand some of her words in times to come, so there's no glossary. The book is a rich mine of rural dialect words, each of them worth looking for and enjoying. There, I've said it again.

Bob Dobson

More Pennine Hotpot by Edith Ralphs (1982) 44pp Pbk published by Edith Ralphs, 46 Hillside Avenue, Clarksfield, Oldham @ £1.50p (£1.75p by post)

The contents taste of hot pot, seasoned well with some daftness and sprinkled with the bitterness of tears. Edith Ralphs' second book of verse and stories is splendid through being ordinary. It smells of Oldham, both of yesteryear and today - chip shops, chamber pots and ordinary folk.

Edith writes easy-to-read, four-line verse, with a guaranteed sock at the end. The print is large and as clear and open as Edith's heart.

Bob Dobson

THE LANCASHIRE DIALECT SOCIETY

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A WORD FROM THE SECRETARY

As I write, 1983 has just broken open and it gives me an opportunity for briefly reflecting on the year past and the year to come, as well as sending my personal greetings for the first time this year to members in pockets of Lancashire in this country and abroad. I get enormous pleasure in receiving "how-do's" from Canada, Japan and Exeter.

I am pleased to tell the Society that Peter Wright has accepted your committee's invitation to become our Chairman following the death of John Baxendale last year. We could not have a finer ambassador, and we as a Society shall certainly benefit from his wealth of experience, knowledge and enthusiasm for our aims. There is good news too of our President, Professor Brook, who is in better health and enjoying his retirement amongst his books at Grange. Long may they reign over us. Incidentally, look out for the review of Peter Wright's new book "The Lancashire Man's Dictionary" elsewhere in this Journal.

Committee-man George Kelsall has high hopes of publishing in book form the study of Edwin Waugh by Martha Vicinus which appeared in our Journals in 1981 and 1982. George runs a bookshop in Littleborough, right in the centre of Waugh country, and we wish his venture well.

The high-spot of the year was in seeing our first anthology published after several years of frustration. It wasn't the best collection of dialect material ever published, and the binding left much to be desired, but it did represent a break-through for the Society and has helped tell Lancashire that we exist. Our Treasurer is delighted with it too, as it has provided us with funds which are keeping the subscriptions pegged and given us cash in the bank. Already a second printing has been made, with a much-improved binding. Each member received an order-slip in November, but the response was disappointing.

On the deficit side, I have to mention again the poor attendance at organised meetings. I do feel that if members would only make a note of meetings as soon as they receive the Journal and Newsletter, then they would get more benefit from their membership and organisers would not feel so much frustration.

Bob Dobson

THE 1982 MEETINGS

1st April 1982. The Refectory, Manchester University. 7.30pm A.G.M. at which we heard reports from officers, re-elected the committee members willing to stand and stood in silence for our late Chairman, John Baxendale. Then followed a talk by Ruth and Eddie Frow on the life and work of Charles Allen Clarke, better known as Teddy Ashton, a giant of Lancashire writing and politics.

13th October 1982. Milton Church, Rochdale 7.45pm. We joined the members of the Edwin Waugh Society to hear Stanley Wood of Bury talk of his friendship with another giant of Lancashire writing, Tommy Thompson.

13th November 1982. A poorly-attended meeting with The Friends of Samlesbury Hall in that fine building. Our members provided the entertainment for the evening, which was advertised as "Accent on Dialect". Another good meet.

THE 1983 DIARY

The Yorkshire Dialect Society is to be envied. Their meetings are arranged well over 12 months in advance. We don't seem to be able to do that. However, these are the details of those meetings which have been arranged for the coming year:- Please put them in your diary.

Saturday 23rd April 1983. Meet from 1.30pm for a 2pm start. at The Small Lecture Hall, Bolton Central Library. AGM to 3pm, followed by an illustrated talk by member Paul Salveson on "Teddy Ashton". Paul is making a special study on Lancashire's most prolific writer, and we shall be the first to hear of the research he has done, although he ran a "Teddy Ashton Neet" in a Bolton pub in late December. We shall be inviting the Bolton intelligentsia to join us to hear about the man more famous in his day than Nat Lofthouse. Meeting to close 4.45pm.

Saturday 4th June 1983. A joint meeting with the members of the Lancashire Authors Association at the Village Hall, Weeton near Kirkham. A meeting suggested by member Mary Smith, a Weeton lass of tender years. Meeting starts 2pm with a brew, and a chat. 2.30pm the local Mayor will welcome us to this bonny Fylde village, then member John Levitt will talk to us on "The study of dialect - then and now", giving us insight into dialect study methods of

yesteryear and this year. Following tea and some fresh Fylde air, another talk on some local aspect, followed by an hour of "contributions by members", and the singing of Edwin Waugh's "A Lift On The Way" at 8pm. It is essential that the Secretary be informed of members attending this meeting so that sufficient meals will be available at nominal cost, and of anyone volunteering to "give a turn".

Sunday 4th September 1983. The Fylde Folk Festival is taking place at Fleetwood, and we shall be organising the Dialect Writing Competition from 11.30am to about 2pm. Details of this will be circulated when known to the Lancashire newspapers and in the Summer Newsletter. In the afternoon, 2.30pm to 4.30pm it is hoped to have a Society meeting and to invite those attending the festival and the Lancashire public at large to join us in one of the Fleetwood hotels. The meeting will take the form of performances of dialect poems by invited persons, with discussion on the dialect content. It is hoped that the meeting will be tape-recorded by the Fleetwood Rotary Club for the benefit of all blind people in Lancashire who listen to the "talking newspapers" compiled by Rotarians. At the time of publication, no further details are known.

October 1983. We have been in touch with a Folk Club who meet at Bacup's Market Tavern and been invited to "take the gospel" to Bacup one Thursday night in October. Their members are looking forward to hearing poems, songs and tales in dialect from our members. It will be a "Poems and Pints", or "Language and Liquor" kind of night. Details will be announced in the Summer Newsletter.

LIVING LANCASHIRE

An Anthology of Lancashire Dialect Verse & Stories

Edited by Bob Dobson & Eric Topping, and published (1982) by Landy Publishing for the Lancashire Dialect Society

Is available from our Secretary, Bob Dobson at 3, Staining Rise, Staining, Blackpool at £1.50p (post-free to members, plus 25p post to non-members).

